7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955 NU7 Astec NU7

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VALLEY OF MEXICO

[p. XV]

Twenty-fourth Chapter. Here is told how the Spaniards and those of Tlaxcalla set out and fled from Mexico by night.

And after dark, when midnight came, thereupon came out the Spaniards, crowded together, and all of the men of Tlaxcalla. The Spaniards took the lead, and the Tlaxcallans followed behind, covering the rear, like their walls, their rear guard. They went carrying a wooden bridge, which they proceeded to lay across the canal over which they passed.[1]

At the time, it was drizzling; there was a fine sprinkle, a gentle spray, of rain. They crossed easily some of the canals, at Tecpantzinco, Tzapotlan, and Atenchicalco. But when they went to attain Mixcoatechialtitlan,[2] the fourth canal, then it was seen that they were leaving. A woman fetching water spied them, whereupon she cried out and said: "Mexicans! Come here quickly! Already they leave! Your foes are already slinking away!" Then also a man cried out from the top of the [pyramid] temple of Uitzilopochtli. His cries spread well out over the people; everyone heard him. He said: "O chieftains, O Mexicans! Your foes are already setting out! Hasten here by war boat and along the roads!"

And when it was heard, then there was an outcry. On this, the war boatmen broke forth. They rushed; they plied the poles furiously; the boats struck and bumped one another. They came to [a place called] Mictlantonco Macuilcuitlapilco.[3] And from two sides the war boats came upon them. They pressed upon them, the war boats of those of Tenochtitlan and the war boats of those of Tlatilulco. And a number went afoot, direct to Nonoalco, making their way toward Tlacopan, intending to cut off their advance.

Injc ceraposalli onnavi Capitulo: vncan mjtoa in quenjn Españoles yoan in tlaxcalteca qujnque, choloque in mexico ioaltica. 726

Auh in ovaliovac in oncic ioalnepantla, njmā ie ic quiça in Españoles: onmotenque, yoan in ie ixquich tlaxcaltecatl: in españoles iacattivi, auh in tlaxcalteca tlatoquiltivi, tlatzinpachotivi, iuhquinma intenanoan, intzacuilhoan muchiuhti:, quivicatiaque quauhtlapechtli contecatiaque in acaloco in jpan onpanotiaque: [312]

in jquac in acachqujaultimanj, acachcretzcliuhtimanj, acachpixauhtimanj, oc coquj in vel companavique acalotli Tecpantzinco, Tzaputla Atenchicalco. Auh in oncito mjxcoa mjxcoatechialtitlā injc nauhcan acaloco: ie vncan ittoque, in ie quiça: ce atlacujc civatl, in quimjttac: njman ie ic tzatzi: quito. Mexica, xioalnenemjcan, ie quiça, ie navalquiça in amoiaovan: njmā no ce tlacatl tzatzic in jcpac vitzilobuchtli vel tepan motecac in jtzatziliz, ixquich tlacatl quicac: quito. Tiacavane, mexicae, ie onquiça in amoiauoan, vallatotoca in acalchimalli, yoan in vtli ipan. 487 [203]

Auh in ocacoc: njmā ie ic tlacaoaca: njmā ie ic tlatzomonj in acalchimaleque, totoca, tequjtlanelon, macalhujtequj, macalhujtectivi, tlamattivi mjctlantonco, macujlcujtlapilco: auh in acalchimalli, nococ in inpan valmonamjc, in inpan valmopic, in tenuchca imacalchimal, yoā in tlatilulca imacalchimal: yoan cequjntin icxipā iaque, nonoalco tlamelauhque, tlacupampa itztiaque, qujniacatzacujlixquja: 726

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1. The Aztec would permit reading "bridges" and "vessels."—According to all other sources, they carried only one wooden bridge, which was raised in the first canal (that is, at Tecpantzinco, before the present site of the Post Office) and could not be used for the rest of the canals (personal communication, Rafael Garcia Granados).

2. Mixcoa is repeated in the Nahuatl MS.

These places were all at canals near the main temple square, on the road to Tlacopan. Cano (op. cit.) says of Atenchicalco and Mixcoatechialtitlan that they were on the Calzada de Tacuba between S. Juan de Letrán and Guerrero; Tzapotlan was on the same calzada in the barrio of Tzapotlan.

3. The corresponding Spanish text refers to "en lugar que se llamaua mjctlantonco, macuilcuitlapilco"; Cano (op. cit.) mentions a Macuilcuitlapilco, "que permanece a los Pozos y nombran Salagua (sic)."

7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955 NU7 Astec NU7

Thirty-seventh Chapter. Here is told how the Mexicans laboriously uncovered by night the waterways which the Spaniards had filled in by day.

And our foes went filling in the canals. And when the enemies had gone, once more [the Mexicans] took up the rocks with which the foes had filled them in. When dawn broke, once again it was even as it had been the day before. Often they so did, where [the Spaniards] had filled in the canals—immediately taking up the stones, the wood, etc.—so that by a little the war was lengthened, and gradually [the Spaniards] broke through [the Mexicans]. For these canals were looked upon as great walls.

And [as for] the Spaniards and all the Tlaxcallans, their common charge was the road, the highway to Yacacolco, and to Tlilhuacan and Atezcapan.[1] And Yacacolco, Cuepopan,[2] Apoutzcan,[3] and Atliccuhyan, with which went Ayacac[4] and Totecco, were the charge of those of Xochimilco, Cuitlauac, Mizquic, Colhuacan, and Itztapalapan. It became their common task to give battle in boats.

And the boatmen and archers of Atliccuhyan and Ayacac girded themselves to come to grips with them. They lost no time. In truth, they were evenly matched. [It was] as if it rained barbed spears; like serpents, arrows streamed and poured. When they hurled them with spear throwers, it was as if a deep yellow mass spread over the foes.

And a number of chieftains—the Tezcacoacatl Xiuhcoacatzin, the Tepanecatl Quaquatzin,[5] Uitzitzin, and Itzcuintzin, people of Yacacolco, whose houses were situated there, neither tarried, nor abandoned their beloved women and children. With difficulty they went to bring them safely to a house by another canal which was in Amaxac.

Injc cempoalli on caxtolli omume capitulo: 726
vncan mjtoa in ōnin Mexica in cohuitiaia in qujtlatlapoaia in atl in ioaltica, in vncan catzupaia Españoles in tlaca.

Auh in toiaovan, catzuptivitze in acalutli. Auh in 726
onoiaque in iavme ie no ceppa qujqujxtia in tetl injc 487
otlaatzupca iaume: in otlatvic ie no ceppa iuhcan,
in juhcan catca ialhoa: muchipa iuh quichiuhque
in vncā catzupaia in acalotli, in çan njmā qujvalquix-
tiaia in tetl in quavitl. &c. ic achi vecaoac in iauiotl,
aiaxcan in qujnvalpetlaque: auh in acalotli in, iuhq'n
vei tenamjtl ipan momatia.

Auh in Españoles yoan in jxqujch tlaxcaltecatl
incentequjuh in vtli, in vei vtli iacacolco, yoan in
tlilhoacan in atezcapan. Auh in iacaculco, in cuepo-
pan, in apaoxcan, yoan atliccuhian injc iaticac aia-
cac, in totecco intequjuh muchiuh in Xuchmjlcatl,
in cujtlacoacatl, in mjzqujcatl, in culhoacatl in Jtz-
tapalapanecatl, incētequjuh muchiuh in acaltica in
tlaiecoaia.

Auh in atliccuhca, yoan aiacacalque in acaleque, 726
in tlamjnanj, vel muchicaoa injc quinnamjquj, amo
moquequetza, vel moneneuhcavia, iuhquin tzetze-
livi in tlatzontectli, iuhquin coatl motlamjna moçi-
piaça in mjtl: in jquac atlatica qujtlaça iuhq'in
coxpul ommoteca in inpan iaume: [411]

auh in cecpjntin tlacaoan in Xiuhcoacatzin qua-
quatzi, Tezcacoacatl, Tecpanecatl, Vitzitzin, Itzcuj-
tzin: in iacaculca vel ipan mantivia in calli: amo
moquequetzaia, amo quixiccavaia in Cioatzintli, in
piltzintli, aiaxcan in qujmōcaltechpachoto in oc ce
acalotli itech in amaxac icac.

1. A *barrio* bearing that of Tezcatzoncan in Tlatelolco: an area once bounded N. by Calle de Manzanares; E., Comercio; S., Organos; and W., the Main in Tlatelolco and the water's edge.—Cano, *op. cit.* R. H. Barlow ("Los solos orientes," p. 43) locates it "*entre las calles de Jesús María y de Guadalupe Buenavista.*"

2. Cuepopan or Tlaquechiuhcan, an area bounded once, N., by Calle de Manzanares; E., Gabriel Leyva; S., Pedro Moreno (once a canal); and Landa.—Cano, *op. cit.*

3. To the east of the Plaza de Tlatelolco.—Ed.

4. Atliccuhyan and Ayacac were probably in the *barrio* of Tolpochalchico.—Ed.

5. Sáiz, *op. cit.*, p. 198, groups the names and titles as given here.

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8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

THE ROAD TO XOCONOCHCO

The tribute collectors of the Empire reached Xoconochco—which was so far away from the heartland that it paid only twice a year, as the month symbols on the *Matricula* page attest—by the same route that modern land travelers follow, that is, south and east of the Nudo de Cempoaltepetl. Ahuizotl, at the end of the fifteenth century, invaded certain key places, which linked this province thereafter with Tochtepec. The activities of Moctezuma II filled certain gaps without altering our general picture for this area.

The main centers occupied by the Mexicans to assure the route across the Isthmus of Tehuantepec and down the Sierra Madre to Soconusco are indicated on the map between provinces 29 and 30, Tochtepec and Xoconochco. The list, which might be expanded, has been formed from the conquest lists of the Mexican rulers.[a]

The reason why these towns do not appear in the *Matricula* as comprising a separate tributary province is debatable. They may have been depicted on some page now lost, or the Mexicans may have demanded from the towns only the right of transit.

[a] Barlow, "Materiales para una cronología del Imperio de los Mexicanos," *RMEA* (1946), 8: 207–215.

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

assistants at his disposal — runners — who not only accompanied the convoys of tribute, but through whom a regular communication might be kept up with the Mexican tribe. On the strength of this, it has been fancied that not only a road-system analogous to that of the Romans, pervaded the entire area of actual Mexico, but that a perfect postal system was in full and successful operation. In regard to the first assumption we beg to refer to the letter of the Licentiate Salmeron, dated Mexico, 13th August, 1531, and directed to the council of the Indies:[303] "I believe that all through the land roads should be opened which would be practicable both for beasts of burthen and for carts. It would greatly increase the security of our possessions. Since the Indians had no beasts of burthen, their paths were straight and narrow, and so direct that they would not deviate an inch in order to avoid climbing the most rugged mountains." Over these Indian trails, where occasionally heavy culverts of stone, filled up gaps and spanned narrow ravines,[304] the tribute was forwarded to the pueblo of Tenuchtitlan, and the necessary runners moved swiftly, to and fro, as occasion required. But there was no regularity in this intercourse. There were no relays, and the Indian messenger relied, in order to traverse the wide belts of waste lands between tribe and tribe, upon his own endurance and upon the bag of provisions which he carried along.[305]

On solemn occasions, the convoys of tribute were not merely escorted by runners and watchmen detailed for that purpose by the "calpixqui," but that officer, himself, accompanied them and entered Mexico-Tenuchtitlan at their head.[306] The articles were carried to the "Tecpan" and then the duties of the "chief of men" in regard to tribute in general ended. For this tribute was not due to him, but to the tribe, and it was the tribal representa-

[303] "*Second Remitt de Pleow sur le Mixique*" (H. Ternaux-Compans, pp. 191 and 192).

[304] The collection of Lord Kingsborough has, among others, the pictures of so-called bridges. Anyone can see at a glance that they are mere heavy culverts. *Mr. H. H. Bancroft* ("*Native Races*," Vol. IV, p. 522) figures a bridge at Hoajutla, but his argument in favor of its being an aboriginal construction appears to me very unsatisfactory. The masonry covering the mound at Metlaltoyuca shows, according to his own words (Id. p. 481): "there is no evidence that the arch was intentionally self-supporting."

[305] We must always discriminate between delegates, entrusted with certain business to transact, and therefore also clothed with a certain authority, and mere *runners*. ("Correos"—"Yciuhca (tlianil" *Molina* I, p. 30, from "Iciuhca"—quick and "tlianil"—he who goes on an errand, II, pp. 22 and 113). The latter are very well described by *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. I, pp. 535 and 536), although he presupposes relays at regular intervals. This was not the case, as the march of Cortés amply proves.

[306] "*Codice Ramírez*" (p. 62).